Gay/Lesbian-Related Homicides in the United States, 1992-1994
First National Analysis and Report

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Prepared as a collaborative effort between:

(Addresses, telephone numbers and contacts appear as Appendix "B")

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Table of Contents

Introduction/Classification of Incidents 1
Number of Homicides by Year 2
Rate of Solving Homicides by Law Enforcemen 2
Extraordinary Violence / Overkill 3
"Homosexual Panic" 5
Serial Murders 6
"Pick Up" Murders 8
Number of Perpetrators 9
Where the Murders Occurred 9
Victim & Perpetrator Gender 9
Victim & Pepetrator Age 10
Victim & Perpetrator Race 12
Exhibits:
Exhibit "A" - Unresolved Cases by State
Exhibit "B" - Gay/Lesbian-Related Homicides by State & Motivation
Exhibit "C" - U.S. Map Showing Locations of Homicides
Appendices:
Appendix "A" - Homicide Summaries by State
Appendix "B" - Report Participants & Contacts
Appendix "C" - Data Collection Instrument

Preface

Conversations between lesbian and gay victim service and anti-violence groups over recent months revealed that all parts of the country have been plagued by gruesome and frequently unsolved murders of gay men and lesbians. We also came to realize how little each of knew about the prevalence of the problem. Hence, this survey was undertaken. January 1, 1992 was selected as the starting date for two reasons. First, 1992 was the first year of widespread ballot and other initiatives seeking to deny civil rights protections to gay men and lesbians. These efforts were accompanied by significant increases in anti-gay/lesbian violence. Second, nearly half of the organizations participating in this report are new and obtaining information prior to 1992 would have been impractical or impossible.

This report does not purport to document the true number of gay/lesbian-related homicides. The report reflects data from only 29 states and the District of Columbia. The majority of the participating organizations are all-volunteer, and of the nine that are staffed, six are staffed by only one person. Most significantly, anti-gay/lesbian violence is hugely under-reported and largely undocumented. Not surprisingly, this is even more true in homicide cases. Police frequently refuse to discuss any details. Likewise, families of victims frequently seek to keep those cases "quiet." For all these reasons, the number of homicides cited in this report reflect only a small percentage of the gay/lesbian related homicides in this country.

On the other hand, data concerning the homicides was collected and classified in a uniform manner. (The instrument used to collect data appears as Appendix "C.") There were no significant variations between states and regions of the country in the types of homicides, the kinds of weapons used, the causes of death, the degree of violence inflicted, or the age and race of victims. For these reasons, we believe that this report accurately reflects the horrible characteristics of gay/lesbian-related homicides.

Introduction/Classification of Homicides

This survey reflects the deaths of 151 victims in gay/lesbian-related homicides for a three year period, January, 1992 through early December, 1994, as reported by 23 local lesbian and gay victim service or anti-violence organizations.[1] A homicide was classified "gay/lesbian-related" if the victim's sexual orientation appeared to have played a role in the offense. Homicides that appeared to be drug-related, the result of domestic violence or straightforward disputes between acquaintances are not included in this report.

A number of criteria were used in assessing the motivation(s) behind these homicides, including:

Statements made by the perpetrator.

The way in which the victim was murdered, including evidence of rage/hate-fueled extraordinary violence.

The location of the homicide, e.g., a known gay "cruising" area or an area with a history of anti-gay violence.

Where the homicides occurred in the victim's home or hotel room, presence or absence of signs of forced entry.

Whether money or other valuables were stolen from the victim.

Evidence of sexual activity or the state of undress of the victim's body.

The statements and insights offered by friends of the victim or community leaders.

The motivations for murders, including gay/lesbian-related ones, are frequently complex. Consequently, a significant portion (58%) of the homicides were classified with multiple motivations. For example, a homicide where the perpetrator confessed that he wanted "to rob and beat up a fag" would be classified as both "anti-gay/lesbian" and "economic/robbery." On the other hand, a homicide where the victim was robbed, but there was no evidence of hate/rage-motivated violence would be classified only as "robbery/economic." The chart on the following page depicts the relative weight of the known or suspected motivations of the perpetrators of these homicides.

As discussed below, more than half the homicides reflect an extraordinary degree of violence. Where "overkill" was present, but there were no other factors indicating anti-gay/lesbian hate, the murder was also classified as "suspected anti-gay/lesbian." We imposed a high standard in gauging overkill. "Execution-style" murders, slashed throats, strangulations, or murders involving four or less stab wounds were not deemed overkill.

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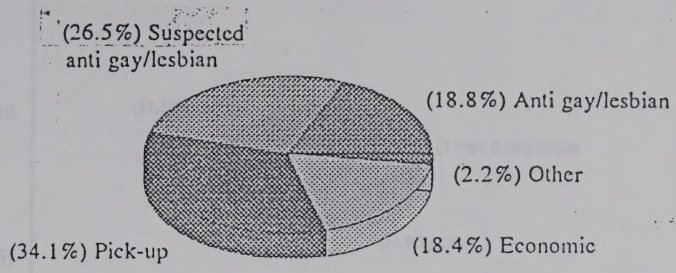
[1] More than one individual was killed in the same incident in 7 cases. The total number of cases covered by this report is 141.

By Year

Of the 151 total homicides, 30 (20%) occurred in 1992, 62 (41%) in 1993; and 59 (39%) in 1994. The sharp jump in the number of homicides between 1992 and 1993 appears to be largely due to the increased number of reporting organizations. Fourteen organizations reported figures for 1992; 23 organizations reported figures for 1993; and 21 organizations reported figures for 1994. All but two of the organizations reporting homicides in 1992 also reported homicides in 1993, and all but three who reported homicides in 1992 also reported homicides in 1994.

Known/Probable Motivations of Gay/Lesbian Related Homicides



*There were a total of 227 known/suspected motivations in the 141 cases.

Rate of Solving Murders by Law Enforcement

The proportion of gay/lesbian homicides that are solved is significantly lower than the average for all homicides. Law enforcement agencies nationwide recorded a 65% clearance rate for 1992.[2] "Clearance" (except in very limited exceptions) means that the perpetrator has been identified and apprehended. In contrast, only 51% of the gay/lesbian-related homicides resulted in an arrest.[3] (Exhibit "A" provides state-by-state detail on the number of cases solved/unsolved.)

If the victim was a person of color, it was less likely that the case was solved. While 64% of the cases involving white victims (43 of 67) were ever solved, only 57% of those involving Latino/a victims were solved (8 of 14), and only 41% of those involving African-American victims were solved (13 of 32).[4]

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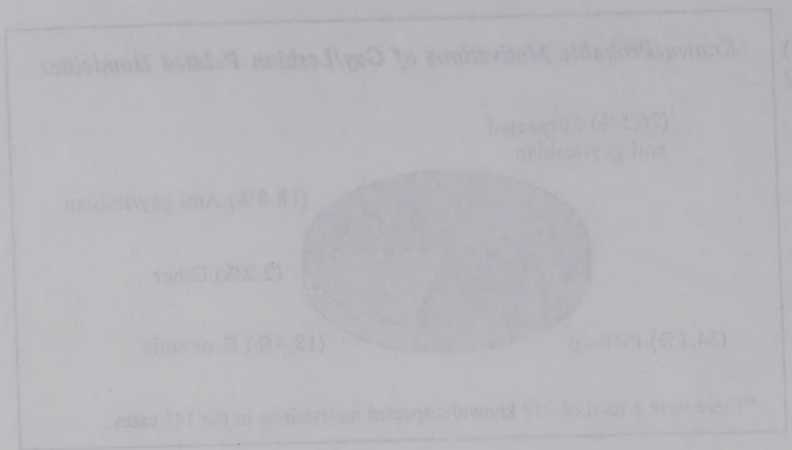
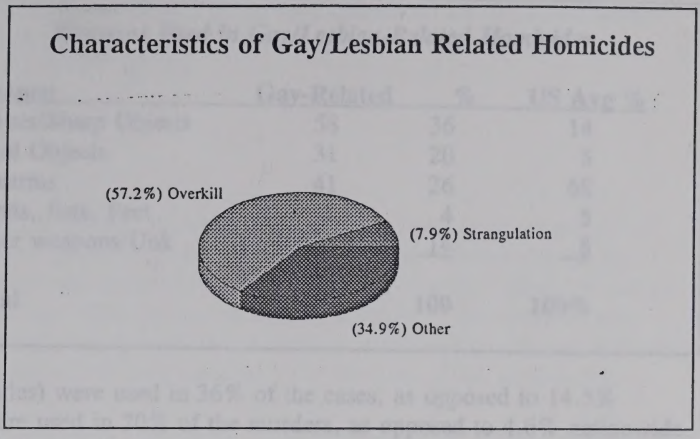
[2]Federal Bureau of Investigation. "Crime in the United States, 1992" p.22. Washington, D.C., 1992 (hereinafter "Crime in the United States)."

[3] For two states, Illinois and North Carolina, the only information received was from local law enforcement agencies reporting on cases in which there had been an arrest. In both states, we received numerous other reports about unresolved homicides, but were not included in this report because they either lacked sufficient documentation, or more often, because law enforcement refused to provide data on these "open" cases. Consequently, solved/unsolved information from these jurisdictions (reflecting a total of 15 homicides) was not included in these calculations.

[4] The race of 33 of the victims was unknown. 57% of these cases were solved (19 of 33).



Extraordinary Violence/ Overkill



Nearly 60% of the gay/ lesbian-related homicides were marked by an extraordinarily high level of gratuitous violence, or "overkill," discussed below.[5] These victims were not just killed, they were butchered. For example, victims' bodies were mutilated in 11.3% of the cases, including body mutilation (5.3%), genital mutilation (3%), and dismemberment (3%). In two dozen cases, the victim was stabbed more than 12 times. In almost the same number of instances, the victim was repeatedly bludgeoned with some kind of blunt object. One weapon was not enough for many perpetrators: multiple weapons were used in 21 homicides (24%). Report after report recites that the victim's head was mutilated beyond recognition in the fatal attack.

Only 43% of the victims were murdered in "less" gruesome ways. These "lesser" characteristics included 24 strangulation, "execution style" homicides, up to four stab wounds with a knife or sharp instrument, drowning, and slitting of throats.

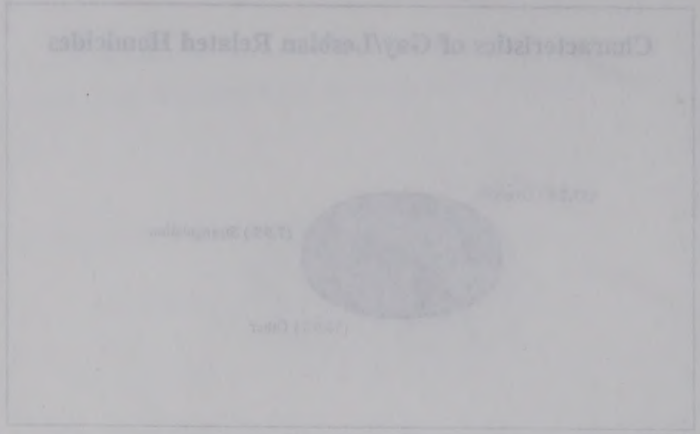
Victims of "Overkill" by Race

Race†	Total Victims	Overkilled	%
White	67	35	52%
African-American	32	20	63%
Latino/a	14	10	71%
Total	**113**	**65**	**57%**

†The race of 33 victims was unknown. Five victims of other races/ethnicities are not included.

African-American and Latino/a victims were more likely to be "overkilled" than white victims. While a little more than half (52%) of the white victims were overkilled, 71% of the Latino/a and 63% of the African-American victims were similarly overkilled.

[5] Homicides that were classified as "overkill" involved at least one of the following: 1) four or more gunshots or stab wounds; 2) the repeated use of a blunt object(s) (such as a baseball bat, brick, lead pipe); or 3) the use of more than one method of murder, any one of which would have independently killed the victim, such as repeated blows with a blunt instrument, followed by multiple stabbings.



The weapons used to kill the victims underscore the violent and painful deaths the victims endured. While firearms account for 68% of all homicides nationwide, they were used in only 26% of the gay/lesbian-related cases. Knives or other sharp objects (e.g., scissors or broken bottles) were used in 36% of the cases, as opposed to 14.5% nationwide. Blunt objects were used in 20% of the murders, as opposed to 4.6% nationwide. Eight percent (8%) of the victims were strangled, as opposed to 1.4% nationwide.[6]

Weapons Used in Gay/Lesbian-Related Homicides

Weapon	Gay-Related	%	US Avg %
Knives/Sharp Objects	58	36	14
Blunt Objects	31	20	5
Firearms	41	26	68
Hands, fists, Feet	6	4	5
Other weapons/Unk	23	14	8
Total	**159**	**100**	**100%**

Excessive violence has long been a hallmark of gay/lesbian-related homicides.[7] "Overkill" or "forensic overkill," as it is technically referred to, reflects extreme hatred or disgust on the part of the perpetrator. This level of violence is clearly above and beyond what is required to kill the victim. The perpetrator is not satisfied with simply killing the victim, but is driven to repeatedly attack the victim beyond his/her death.

There are a number of theories about what triggers this extraordinary rage in gay/lesbian-related cases. One is straightforward: intense hatred of homosexuals. Another is that the perpetrator, overtly heterosexual, doubts his own sexual orientation and is consumed with feelings of anxiety, hatred, fear and rage by feelings within himself that he perceives to be indicative of his own homosexuality. These perpetrators kill, seeking to destroy the thing which they hate inside themselves. A third possibility is that the murderer is fueled by self-loathing and self-directed anger that is not based on self-questioning his own sexuality. This murderer may target gay men because they are seen as "easy prey" and because the murderer knows that his chances of avoiding apprehension are greater when the victim is part of a marginalized community.

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[6]All "nationwide" figures from "Crime in America," supra, at 18.

[7] According to the only previous study of gay-related homicides, conducted through a review of newspaper stories in the 70's, "(a)n intense rage is present in nearly all homicide cases involving gay male victims. A striking feature . . . is their gruesome, often vicious nature. Seldom is the homosexual victim simply shot. He is more apt to be stabbed a dozen or more times, mutilated and strangled." B. Miller & L. Humphreys."Lifestyles and Violence: Homosexual Victims of Assault and Murder." Qualitative Sociology (Fall 1980), 3:169-185.

It is impossible to judge into which category(ies) each of the perpetrators of the overkill homicides fall. For example, the extreme youth of many of the murderers (see page 10) might indicate actions motivated by self-doubts about their sexuality. On the other hand, young people are still taught to hate and fear homosexuality, and anti-gay/lesbian discrimination and violence has broad support.

"Homosexual Panic"

The extreme levels of violence associated with so many of the murders refutes claims that these murders might be justified as the result of "homosexual panic." In this theory, the perpetrator asserts that he was overcome with uncontrollable rage and fear when the victim made sexual advances toward him. The theory, essentially a hybrid of self-defense and temporary insanity, is increasingly being used as a defense in cases that involve extraordinary brutality and overkill. This defense has been asserted by at least ten of the perpetrators reflected in this report.

Clearly, self-defense claims are not supported by the gory data. It is difficult to imagine a situation in which dozens of stabbings, an "execution style" shooting, or repeated bludgeoning of another's head is required to fend off a sexual advance. This assertion would have little credence if not for the myth of the "predatory homosexual."

In addition, legal scholars and the psychiatric profession generally have discredited the defense. "Homophobia," the predicate of homosexual "panic," has never been officially recognized as a disorder in the American Psychiatric Association's Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM). Other mental health professionals have suggested that maladaptive responses to homosexual stimuli are more accurately viewed as akin to racist or anti-Semitic behaviors than they are to true phobias such as claustrophobia or paranoia.

Nonetheless, the strategic importance of asserting a homosexual panic defense is clear: it enables a defendant to establish his heterosexuality and take advantage of any anti-gay bias in the judge or jury members. This defense is also seen as effective in switching the focus from the perpetrator's behavior to that of the victim. While some courts and juries have strongly resisted such efforts, others have unfortunately been swayed by them.

Many advocates in the field of anti-lesbian and anti-gay violence have pointed out the similarity between the homosexual panic defense and the better-known tactic of blaming a female rape victim for her victimization by focussing on her sexual history, dress, etc. Others have expressed concern about how this kind of defense establishes a lower standard of protection against violence for a class of victims (i.e. homosexuals) and advances the idea that disgust and hatred are "normal" responses to homosexuality. And finally, the promulgation of these defenses "reinforces and institutionalizes violent prejudice at the expense of norms of self-control, tolerance and compassion that ought to reign in society."[8]

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[8] Homophobia in Manslaughter: The Homosexual Advance as Insufficient Provocation, 88 Cal. Law Review 133 (1992).

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Clearly, self-defense claims are not supported by the gay data. It is difficult to imagine a situation in which dozens of stabbings, "execution style" shooting, or repeated bludgeoning of another's head is required to fend off a sexual advance. The assertion would have little credence if not for the myth of the "predatory homosexual."

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Many advocates in the field of anti-lesbian and anti-gay violence have pointed out the similarity between the homosexual panic defense and the better-known tactic of blaming a female rape victim or battered woman by focusing on her sexual history, dress, etc. Others have expressed concern about how this kind of defense establishes a lower standard of proving the violence for a class of victims (i.e. homosexuals) and advances the idea that these and hatred are "normal" responses to homosexuality. And finally, the promulgation of these defenses "reinforces and institutionalizes violent prejudice at the expense of norms of self-control, tolerance and compassion that ought to reign in society."*

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* Hunsperger, *Homophobia in Manslaughter: The Homosexual Advance as Due Process Defense*, 55 Cal. Law Review 1120 (1967).

Serial Murders

One of the most disturbing findings of this report is the large number of serial murderers preying on gay men, most of whom are still at large. During the period covered in this survey, at least eight serial murderers were at work. Six are still free, continuing their carnage. These murderers are responsible for 24 murders reflected in this report (16%) and probably for at least 21 others from 1987 through 1991.

In most cases, local law enforcement agencies have been slow or absolutely resistant to linking cases. For example, three nearly identical murder-dismemberments in the New York City metropolitan area were not linked for nearly two years. In other situations, police appear to go out of their way to emphasize minor differences between cases, while ignoring striking similarities. The cases involving an apparent serial murderer in the Denver area exemplify this problem. This phenomenon has been labelled "linkage avoidance" by noted serial murder expert Jack A. Apsche.[9]

Dozens of other homicides appear to be linked. For example, there are at least nine unsolved homicides in the District of Columbia metropolitan area in which the victim was brutally murdered in his apartment. None of the cases involved a forced entry, and in most of the cases the victim was last seen leaving a gay bar. Yet, none of the cases has been linked and very little effort has been made to gauge linkages.

In addition to linkage avoidance, three other factors appear to have inhibited the investigation into serial cases. First, in many instances, police are indifferent to gay/lesbian-related homicides. We believe much of this prevailing attitude comes from a blame-the-victim perspective, overlaid with ignorance or disgust of homosexuality. In several homicides occurring in a pick-up scenario, for example, survey participants said police conveyed the sentiment that the "victim got what he deserved" or "this sort of thing comes with the gay lifestyle."

Second, many victims' families are uncooperative, feeling ashamed about the circumstances of the crime or adamantly opposed to allowing the victim's homosexuality to be made public. To accommodate the family's desires, and because many police officers believe they would feel the same way, the true circumstances surrounding the case are not made public. In turn, the gay community is not warned or used as a resource to help apprehend the perpetrator.

Third, because serial murderers frequently move from state to state, cooperation between local law enforcement agencies is necessary and federal involvement essential. The survey reveals that this cooperation and involvement is largely lacking. The Northeast serial murderer has left dismembered bodies in three (and possibly four) states and at least four law enforcement agencies are looking into the case. But none of these agencies have the resources necessary to keep the investigation moving and the FBI has refused to become involved.

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[9]See. J. Apsche, Probing the Mind of a Serial Killer. (1993) Morrisville PA: International Information Associates.

The following describes the serial murders identified in this survey:

Apprehended:

Gary Ray Bowles was recently arrested in connection with the murders of at least seven gay men along the eastern seaboard, from Daytona Beach, Florida to Silver Spring, Maryland. To date he has confessed to four of those murders. Apparently, Bowles picked-up each of his victims in gay bars, and the bodies were found either in the victim's home or in a park-like area. Bowles robbed most of his victims.

Although Bowles caused a variety of injuries to the victims during the murders, including strangulation, broken bones, and multiple blows to the head, qualifying the murders as "forensic overkill." In addition, a wide variety of weapons were used, including guns and blunt instruments. There is no indication that Bowles is gay; the only sex between Bowles and his victims was fellatio performed on Bowles. A FBI agent said, "He just hates homosexuals and wants to kill them."[10]

Earl David Hines was arrested for the May 8, 1994 murder of Poul Anderson, 54, and the May 23, 1994 murder of Bruce Hutchinson, 31. Both murders occurred in Denver and both victims appear to have met Hines in a gay bar. Hutchinson was sexually assaulted and his body found in an alley; Anderson died of a gunshot wound to the head in a hotel. Hines's fingerprints matched those taken from a discarded condom found near Hutchinson's body. Hines was tracked through his use of Anderson's credit cards.

At Large:

New York Metro Area. This murderer is responsible for the murdering and then dismembering four and possibly five men since 1991. In each murder, the victim's body has been found meticulously dismembered and placed in several garbage bags left at rest areas along highways. There has never been any attempt by the murderer to hide the identity of the victims. In four of the murders, the victim was last seen in a Manhattan gay bar; two of the men were last seen in the same bar. The first victim was Philadelphia resident Peter Anderson, 54. His body was found at a rest stop along the Pennsylvania Turnpike in May 1991. The second victim was Boston executive Thomas Mulcahy. His body was found in spots along a highway in southern New Jersey in July 1992. The third victim was Anthony Marrero, 44, on May 16, 1993, whose body was found on the Manchester Turnpike in New Jersey. The fourth victim, Manhattan resident Michael Sakara, 56, was found in garbage bags placed in trash cans at a rest area in Rockland County, New York, on July 31, 1993. The fifth likely victim is Bridgeport, Connecticut resident Benjamin Rosario, 45, whose body parts were found in a desolate area near Interstate 95 on August 3, 1994. Rosario's case has not been officially linked to the others by police.

Hamptons Roads, VA. Police believe a serial murderer is responsible for the deaths of nine men in the Hamptons Roads area of Virginia since 1987. Each victim was apparently strangled, and none of the bodies bore defensive wounds or evidence of struggle with the

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[10] "Natural Born Killer," The Advocate, October 4, 1994.

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Aggrewanded.

Clary Ice Bowles was recently arrested in connection with the murders of at least seven gay men along the eastern seaboard, from Daytona Beach, Florida to Silver Spring, Maryland. To date he has confessed to four of these murders. Apparently, Bowles picked up each of his victims in gay bars, and the bodies were found either in the victim's home or in a park-like area. Bowles robbed most of his victims.

Although Bowles caused a variety of injuries to the victims during the murders, including strangulation, broken bones, and multiple blows to the head, specifying the murders as "forensic overkill." In addition, a wide variety of weapons were used, including guns and blunt instruments. There is no indication that Bowles is gay; the only sex between Bowles and his victims was felatio performed on Bowles. A FBI agent said, "He just hates homosexuals and wants to kill them."[1]

Earl Darrel Hines was arrested for the May 8, 1994 murder of Brad Anderson, 54, and the May 21, 1995 murder of Bruce Hutchinson, 31. Both murders occurred in Denver and both victims appear to have met Hines in a gay bar. Hutchinson was sexually assaulted and his body found in an alley. Anderson died of a gunshot wound to the head in a hotel. Hines's fingerprints matched those taken from a discarded condom found near Hutchinson's body. Hines was tracked through his use of Anderson's credit cards.

Al Largay

New York Metro Area. This murderer is responsible for the murdering and disappearance [illegible] and possibly five men since 1991. In each murder, the victim's body has been found mutilated, dismembered and placed in several garbage bags left at rest areas along highways. There has never been any attempt by the murderer to hide the identity of the victims. In four of the murders, the victim was last seen in a Manhattan gay bar; two of the men were last seen in the same bar. The first victim was Philadelphia resident Peter Anderson, 34. His body was found at a rest stop along the Pennsylvania Turnpike in May 1991. The second victim was Lenny Cecchini, Queens resident. His body was found in 1992 along a highway in western New Jersey in July 1992. The third victim was Anthony Alarcon, 34, on May 10, 1993, whose body was found on the Manchester Turnpike in New Jersey. The fourth victim, Manhattan resident Michael Sykes, 39, was found in garbage bags placed in trash cans in a rest area in Rockland County, New York, on July 31, 1993. The fifth likely victim is Brad Sport, Connecticut resident in Benjamin Brinsley, 45, whose body parts were found in a dumpster area near Interstate 95 on August 2, 1994. Brinsley's case has not been officially linked to the others by police.

Hampton Roads, V.A. Police believe a serial murderer is responsible for the deaths of nine men in the Hampton Roads area of Virginia since 1987. Each victim was apparently strangled, and some of the bodies bore defensive wounds or evidence of struggle with the

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[1] "Serious Bow Killer." The Advocate. October 3, 1995

serial killer, for example, are all known to have been extremely streetwise and savvy, and not known to pay for sex.

Contrary to popular and law enforcement belief, robbery was not a predominant motivation in the pick-up homicides. Only 28 of the 76 pick-up homicides (37%) were reported to have involved robbery or theft. While 78% were reported as involving anti-gay/lesbian or suspected anti-gay/lesbian bias (primarily on the basis of overkill), only 22% of those so classified involved robbery or theft. Put another way, the higher the level of violence associated with the murder, the less likely it was that the victim was robbed.

There were only three pick-up murders (4%) in which neither robbery, anti-gay/lesbian bias nor overkill was indicated. This was due to lack of information from local police either confirming or denying a robbery motive or providing evidence of overkill.

Number of Perpetrators

Seventy-nine percent (79%) of the homicides appear to have been committed by a one, not multiple, perpetrators. Two perpetrators were involved in 16 incidents (11%), three in 8 incidents (6%), and four or more in 6 incidents (4%). This pattern is significantly different from other forms of anti-gay/lesbian violence, where an average of 55% of the incidents involve multiple assailants.[12]

Where the Murders Occurred

The bodies of half of the victims (51%) were found in a private residence, overwhelmingly the victim's own home or apartment. One-fifth (21%) were found on a street, highway, or road. One-tenth (10%) were found in motels/hotels or other public accommodations, and another ten percent were found in parks or wooded areas.

Not surprisingly, although pick-up murders accounted for half of the total murders, they accounted for two-thirds (68%) of the victims who were killed in a private residence.

Victim & Perpetrator Gender

The great majority (95% - 144 of 151) of the victims of anti-gay/lesbian homicides reflected in this report were male.[13] There are several factors contributing to this phenomenon. One is that violent crimes against lesbians are even more under-reported and under-recognized

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[12]See, for example, G.D. Comstock (1991), Violence Against Lesbians and Gay Men, pp. 58-61. New York City: Columbia University Press.

[13] According to the FBI, 22% of the homicide victims in 1992 (the most recent year for which data is available) were female. However, at least half of those victims were killed by relatives or acquaintances, 29% by their husbands or boyfriends. "Crime in the United States," supra at 19.

than those against gay men. Another significant factor is that going to bars and parks to meet a partner for sex is much more prevalent in gay male culture than in lesbian culture. Nearly half the victims in this report apparently encountered their murderer(s) in such a public place. Likewise, gay male bars are more numerous and more likely to be known, as are gay male "cruising" areas.

The perpetrators of the murders were also overwhelmingly male, accounting for 98% of the known perpetrators (152 of 155). (The gender of 37 of the perpetrators was unknown.) This is significantly higher than the average for all types of murders: according to the FBI, males are responsible for 87% of homicides of males.[14]

Eight murders of lesbians were reported, and males were responsible for all of them. In sharp contrast to the murders of gay men, none of the lesbian homicides arose from a pick-up situation. One lesbian was murdered by her lover's sons; another was killed by her daughter's boyfriend. Two were killed outside of a lesbian/gay bar. Another died when her apartment was firebombed by skinheads.

Victim & Perpetrator Age

The age of the victims of gay/ lesbian-related homicides is significantly older than victims in other types of homicides. Sixty-nine percent (69%) were over 30 years of age, compared to 48% for victims of all kinds of homicides. The age difference is particularly pronounced in the 45-64 age category: 30% of the victims fell into this group as compared to only 12% of all homicides.[15] Nearly two-thirds of the men in this age group were murdered in a pick-up situation, as compared to 54% for all murders reflected in this report. In contrast, where the age of the perpetrator was known, 81% of the pick-up crimes against this age group were committed by men under 30 years of age, with half being 23 or under. This information indicates that perpetrators specifically target middle-aged gay men, and that they are particularly susceptible to such targeting.

Unlike the age of victims, the perpetrators of gay/lesbian-related homicides are significantly younger than those in other types of homicides. More than one-quarter (26.4%) are under the age of 18 (as compared to 14% in all homicides); nearly 80% are under 30 (as compared to 67% in all homicides).[16]

The age of the murderers is relatively consistent with the age of perpetrators of other forms of anti-gay/lesbian violence such as assault and harassment. Between 75-80% of these

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[14] "Crime in the United States," supra at 17.

[15] "Crime in the United States, 1992," supra at 16.

[16] "Crime in the United States," supra at 18.

perpetrators are 30 or younger, with roughly half under 20.[17]

While the younger age of perpetrators is consistent with patterns in other forms of anti-gay/lesbian violence, the older age of the victims is not. Repeated studies have shown that older gay men and lesbians are the victims of anti-gay/lesbian violence significantly less frequently than younger individuals. In six surveys of a total of 4,206 individuals between 1985 and 1990, for example, 15.5% of the respondents between 18-29 years of age had been victims of at least one act of anti-gay/lesbian violence, while only 6% of those 46 and over had.[18] This is consistent with the ages of persons reporting incidents of anti-gay/lesbian violence to victim service agencies, where victims 45 years of age and older constitute less than 7% of reported incidents.[19]

Age of Homicide Victims & Perpetrators

	Gay-Related		US Average
Victim Age	#	%	%
<18	1	-	11
18-29	43	28	41
30-44	46	33	31
45-64	42	30	12
65+	8	6	5
Total	140†	100	100

†The ages of 12 victims is unknown.

Perpetrator Age			
<18	31	26	14
18-29	62	53	53
30-44	23	20	24
45-64	1	1	8
65+	0	0	2
Total	117†	100	101‡

†The ages of 75 perpetrators is unknown.
‡Exceeds 100% due to rounding.

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[17] G.D. Comstock (1991), Violence Against Lesbians and Gay Men, pp. 58-61. New York City: Columbia University Press. New York City Gay and Lesbian Anti-Violence Project ("NYC AVP"). (1991), (1992), (1993). Anti-Gay and Anti-Lesbian Violence in New York City. Copies may be obtained from AVP, 647 Hudson Street, NY, NY 10014.

[18] G. Herek & K. Berrill (1992), Hate Crimes: Confronting Violence Against Lesbians and Gay Men, pp. 46-52. Newbury Park: Sage Publications. See also, G.D. Comstock, supra, pp. 58-61.

[19] See, for example, NYC AVP annual statistical reports since 1990.

Victim/Perpetrator Race

More than half (56%) of the victims were white; 29% were African-American, and 12% Latino/a. The most significant difference in this distribution from all types of homicides is the lower number of African-Americans. Nationally, African-Americans comprise 49.6% of all homicide victims.[20] The majority of victims of the pick-up murders were white and this fact alone appears to account for the difference. While the data suggest that white men are at greater risk for pick-up crime, the data is clearly limited.

Gay/Lesbian-Related Homicides by Race of Victim and Perpetrator

		Race of Perpetrator				
Race of Victim	#	White	Af-Amer	Latino/a	Unk	Total
African-American	32	11	6	2	23	42
Latino/a	14	1	2	3	12	18
White	67	35	12	3	36	86
Asian/Other	5	1	1	0	3	5
Unknown	31	10	3	1	28	41
Total	151	57	24	9	102	192

As discussed above, African-American and Latino/a victims were more likely to be mutilated or subjected to overkill than white victims. The data suggests that the combination of anti-gay and race-motivated hate fuel greater violence.

White perpetrators were responsible for an extraordinarily high proportion of the murders of African-American men, reinforcing the apparent link between racism and anti-gay hate. White men were responsible for 58% of the murders of African-American men; nationwide, African-American men are responsible for only 15% of the murders of white victims.

[20] "Crime in the United States," supra at 16.